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ABSTRACT

There has been growing interest in the effect on achievement of teacher and student attitudes toward language. This paper attempts to examine the relevant studies in this area in order to draw some conclusions for bilingual bicultural classroom settings. The reported attitude studies focus on research with standard and non-standard varieties of languages and show that evaluative reactions vary among individuals given certain speech samples. In addition, it is concluded that teachers tend to give stereotypical evaluations when confronted with certain cues (speech style, videotapes, drawings, and compositions). The research does not, however, conclusively substantiate the underlying assumption of the studies, i.e., that teachers' attitudes affect the performance of the child. The reported studies on student attitudes examine the effect of attitudes toward language and second language learning. It is evident from the research that student attitude clearly affects second language learning. The research also illustrates the controversy surrounding the question of age as a variable in language learning. Implications for bilingual-bicultural classroom settings are discussed. (Author/CLK)

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LANGUAGE

THE IMPORTANCE OF TEACHER AND STUDENT ATTITUDES ON ACHIEVEMENT IN BILINGUAL-BICULTURAL EDUCATION

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There has been a growing interest in the issue of attitude toward language from the perspective of teacher and child in an attempt to discern the important ingredients in a model bilingual bicultural program. The following paper attempts to examine the studies in this area in order to draw some conclusions which will ultimately affect educational policy.

TEACHER ATTITUDE STUDIES

Evaluative reactions toward speakers of various languages and dialects have been widely studied during the last fifteen years. In 1960 Lambert and his colleagues used the match guised technique to compare reactions to two languages, English and French. This technique consists of utilizing two distinct sample speech patterns from the same individual which are proported to be from two different individuals. It is an effective way to elicit attitudinal responses from subjects in an experimental setting. They found that the subjective evaluations of speech are affected by associations made with stereotypes held about the majority and minority language groups. Canadian French speakers agreed with English speakers in rating their own language lower on most personality traits. The French subjects evaluated the English guises of the speaker significantly more favorably than French guises for the following ten traits: height, good looks, leadership, intelligence, self confidence, dependability, ambition, sociability, character and likeability. A similar matched guised technique was used for Arabic and Hebrew (Lambert, Anisfeld, and Yeni-Komshian 1965).

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The results of this study indicated that evaluation of language are usually not available to conscious elicitation, but are readily and consistently expressed in personality judgements about different speakers.

Tucker and Lambert (1969) study tend to support the previous findings. Their study showed that Southern Blacks have more favorable impressions of people who use what some linguists refer to as Standard Network Style English than they do of those who speak with their own style. However, the findings did indicate that the interviewees were more impressed with their own style that they were with the speech of educated Southern Whites and of Blacks who try to become a "white" in their speech by exaggerating the non-black features and over correcting their verbal output.

These studies illustrate the phenomena of social stereotyping. That is, certain language or speech characteristics are associated by the listeners with personality traits, social status, educational backgrounds, and even the appearance of the speakers. These matched guised tests do not contrast individual features of language, but rather they record undifferentiated responses to the language or dialect as a whole.

The area of language attitudes has become a vital component of sociolinguistics research. In New York City, for example, Labov (1966) found that socially stratified dialect characteristics serve as cues when listeners attempt to guess the occupations of speakers. In Detroit, Shuy and his colleagues (1967) found a high degree of correct identification of speaker's race and social status based upon as few as 30 seconds of recorded speech. Williams (1970) has been concerned with teachers reaction to speech. In his work he attempts to link attitudes and other behaviors in the following matter

in a situation: (1)speech type serve as social identifiers (2)these elicit stereotypes held by ourselves and others (including ones of ourselves) (3)we tend to behave in accord with these stereotypes and thus (4)translate our attitudes into a social reality. (p. 474)

He found that teachers, when listening to a sample of children's speech, used two underlying dimensions to make judgements about children's social status: "confidence eagerness" largely a measure of fluency, inversely related to incidence of silent pausing, and "ethnicity-nonstandardness" sounding ethnic and non-standard in ones use of English. Williams derived these dimensions from his previous study (1970b).

The technique implemented to arrive at these semantic differential scales was to present small groups of respondents with audio tape or videotape speech samples and then to get people to comment freely upon their impressions of the samples. The respondents were teachers or student-teachers and the samples were from school children. The teachers were asked to give their opinions concerning the child's progress in school, what they thought of his educational background, and how they perceived his speech and language. From these questions Williams was able to derive and identify adjectives that teachers frequently used in talking about children as well as the particular referends to which these adjectives were applied. The referents were ethnicity--nonstandard and confidence--eagerness. For example:

The child seems:
hesistant _____: _____:_____:_____:_____:

The child's family is probably:
low social status_____:_____:_____:
_____:high social status

The speech samples used in this study were excerpts from the children's responses to standard questions in an interview situation. The content of the samples was not controlled, consequently what was said by the child, how the message was organized, and errors in syntax could have affected the teachers' judgments; confidence-eagerness in speech was related to the perception of the child as reticent and unsure in the interview speech situation. Williams found that characteristics that underlie ethnicity were deviations from standard English such as non-standard syntactic construction, e.g., (He be going), and onstandard pronunciation of selected phonemes. Perceiving a child as unconfident--reticent and nonstandard in his/her English was associated with judging him to be of low social class or "sounding disadvantaged."

It should be noted that Williams does not account for culturally different behavioral-attitudinal factors that might affect a child's speech sample. For example, how the child perceived the interviewer may have affected his taped sample. Nor does he conclusively relate teacher attitudes to a child's speech as affecting the outcome--the child's learning. However, there does seem to be a relationship between a child's speech characteristics and the teacher's impressions of him, even though in Williams studies the speech samples were not equated for content.

Taylor (1972) also examined teacher attitudes toward student speech. He attempted to assess teacher attitudes toward language differences specifically related to black English by use of a Likert-type scaling instrument. This measurement has four content categories with regard

to black English and non-standard dialects: (1) their structure and inherent usefulness (2) the consequences of using and accepting them in the educational setting (3) the philosophies concerning the use and acceptance (4) cognitive and intellectual abilities of the speakers. The scale was administer nationally to teachers and the data was analyzed with the following teacher variables in mind: geographical location, sex, race, field(s) of college degree(s), number of years teaching experience, grade assignment, racial composition of school and parent's education.

The most interesting outcome of this study was the variation of teacher attitudes toward the preceding content categories of non-standard and black English. Consequently, teachers did not appear to have a single, generic attitude toward dialects but rather differing attitudes depending upon the particular aspect of the dialect in question. For example, in content areas that did not have to do with the structure of non-standard and black dialects, the majority of teachers revealed positive to neutral opinions. By contrast, in the area pertaining to structure, the opinions were evenly distributed. Taylor concluded that American teachers on the whole, we favorably disposed toward language variation, although they do express some negative attitudes. Another finding of interest was that the number of years teaching experience was the most important biographical variable which accounted for teacher differences. Those teachers with three to five years teaching experience had significantly more positive attitudes twoard dialect variations than teachers who were just beginning their careers or those with ten or more years experience.

Lambert and his colleagues (1972) sought to explore the influence of speech style in relation to other personal cues on the formation of teachers' expectations of pupil behavior. They used compositions, drawings, photographs and speech samples from third grade boys. The materials were evaluated by several groups of student teachers. This was followed by another evaluation by a second group of student teachers. They were asked to give an impression of each child, using all possible combinations of the materials (drawings, speech sample, etc). Lambert predicted that speech style would have a powerful effect upon the teacher's evaluation of each child even with other cues to consider. The results showed that those boys with good voices (as defined by components of speech style; pronunciation, speed, intonation, pitch, quality, and individual characteristics) were evaluated more favorably than those with poor voices. Speech style was important and its effect did not diminish even when combined with other cues. It is important to note that teachers perceptions were not only dependent upon one cue because cues other than speech showed their effect.

In a study that presented student teachers with videotaped side views of children, Williams (1971) attempted to show how stereotypes affected evaluations. Audio tapes of the standard English passage were dubbed onto the videotapes of the children from the three ethnic groups. He found that the same speech sample was rated quite differently depending upon which ethnic guise was presented. Consequently, the black child with a standard English sound track was rated as more "ethnic-nonstandard" than was the Anglo child. The Mexican American child

was rated as markedly less "confident-eager". The implication is that the visual image of the child on the videotape triggered a cue in the perceiver of that type of child. This elicited a stereotype, and the presentation was judged relative to that stereotype. Williams concluded:

> persons tend to employ stereotyped sets of attitudes as anchor points for their evaluation of whatever is presented to them as a sample of a person's speech. (p. 254)

His research is limited by the factors of "ethnicity non-standardness and confidence eagerness and also small sample size.

In a study which essentially replicates Lambert's work, Arias (1976) studied the same variable with regard to the spoken English of Mexican American children. She used photographs of the students, speech samples of standard American English and non-standard ethnic (where some Spanish lexical items were present) and drawings from the third grade Mexican American boys. The results of this study indicate that the student teachers evaluated more favorably those students whose voice quality was good. Additionally, the boy's speech sample (where the ethnic non-standard was compared to the standard American English) was found to be important in combination with other cues.

Another related study found that standard American English intonation, possible language pathologies and predictions of reading achievement were areas which yield low reliability even among the "experts" (Natalicio and Williams 1972). Their work with Mexican American children indicates that the inability of experts to predict reading

samples of students' speech should serve as a cautionary signal to teachers to limit any assumptions of a student's ability which are based solely on oral language production.

These studies show that evaluative reactions are made given certain speech samples. Additionally, it can be concluded that teachers tend to give stereotypical evaluations when confronted with different cues (speech style, videotapes, drawings, and compositions). However, the research has yet to provide conclusive data to substantiate the underlying assumption of these research studies, i.e., that teacher's attitudes affect the performance of the child. More specifically, that the teacher's attitudes toward the speech of the child will afffect his learning potential. It would be useful to conduct a study to determine, if in fact, there is a direct relationship between teacher attitude and student performance. This hypothesis has been presented before (Beez 1968; Rosenthal, Jacobson 1968; Meichenbaum, Bower and Ross 1969), however, certain methodological problems in the researhc design have raised questions concerning the validity and generalizability of the data.

CHILD ATTITUDE STUDIES

The preceding section of this paper has been concerned with research related to teachers' evaluative judgments of children's speech. This section will review the prominent research dealing with the child's attitude toward the language and culture in a second-language learning situation. It is important to examine those contexts which maximize the child's opportunity

for language learning outside of his/her initial language learning experience.

In their comprehensive study of language learning Gardner and Lambert (1972) have stressed the attitudinal facet of motivation:

> Social psychologists would expect that success in mastering a foreign language would depend not only on intellectual capacity and language aptitude but also on the learner's perceptions of the other ethnolinguistic group involved, his attitudes toward representatives of that group, and his willingness to identify enough to adopt distinctive aspects of behavior, linguistic and non-linguistic, that characterize that other group. (p. 132)

Lambert views the learning of a second language in much the same way that Mowrer (1960) views first language learning. They would agree that this is motivated by a basic desire to communicate with, to become similar to, and to be a part of the lives of valued people in one's environment, first family members and then others in the linguistic community. Expanding this to second language acquisition, Lambert postulates that the successfuly learner of a second language also has to identify with members of another linguistic-cultural group and be willing to take on very subtle aspects of their behavior, including their distinctive style of speech and their language. Studies at McGill University have supported Lambert's et al. theory of the social-psychological aspects of language learning. This theory states that an individual successfully acquiring a second language gradually adopts various aspects of behavior which characterize members of another linguistic-cultural group. The learner's ethnocentric tendencies, his/her attitudes toward the other group, and orientation toward language learning are believed to regulate or control one's motivation to learn and ultimately the success or failure in mastering the new language. The learner's orientation is thought of

being "instrumental" in from if the purposes of language study reflect a more utilitarian view towards the language, such as getting ahead in one's occupation, and "integrative" if the student is oriented to to learn more about the other cultural community as if he desired to become a member of it.

This theory was tested in three regional settings of the United States: Maine, Connecticut, and New Orleans. English speaking American high school students studying French in the bicultural communities of Louisiana and Maine where the French language and traditions are still alive, were compared with students ian a typically American community in Connecticut where students studying French have the European French people as a reference group. The variable examined were intelligence aptitude and attitudinal-motivational factors. The bicultural settings permitted the investigators to examine the role ot attitudes working in two ways: attitudinal disposition of American students toward linguistic minority groups in their immediate environment, and the attitudes of members of the cultural minority group toward the general culture about them. A different attitudinal foundation for the desire to learn French was found in each setting. In Louisiana, motivation appeared to be derived from a strong parental encouragement and personal satisfaction for the student himself in his attempt to learn the language. In Maine the motivation seemed to be fostered by the students' identification with their French teacher. In Connecticut the students had a strong integrative orientation toward the study of the language.

The French Americans in Maine, with a strong instrumental

orientation toward French, coupled with parental encouragement to do well, demonstrated outstanding skills in various aspects of French. The family supported instrumental approach offers the French-American a real chance of becoming bicultural. The French American students in Louisiana with particularly favorable attitudes twoard their own cultural group, along with competence in English, were outstanding on various measures proficiency in French. This would suggest that French-Americans who are content and comfortable with both facets of their cultural and linguistic heritage are "psychologically free to become full bilinguals" (Lambert and Gardner 1972, p. 136).

The research in the area of pupils' attitudes in a bilingual environment suggests that age is an important variable. Anisfeld and Lambert (1964) studied the attitudes of ten-year-old French Canadian children and found no preference for the English-speaking guises. This was clearly in contrast to Lambert, Hodgson, et al. (1960) who found such a preference among adult French Canadians. Anisfeld and Lambert contend that children at this age have not yet developed this type of language preference based on the values of the majority language group. This hypothesis is supported by a study conducted in Wales (Sharp, Thomas, Francis, et al. 1973). The results of their study show an inverse relationship between age and positive attudes toward Welsh, i.e., as Welsh children get older their attitude toward Welsh tends to become less positive while their attitude toward English becomes more positive. There was a significant interaction between sex and age; i.e., girls favored Welsh more than boys, although there was no sex difference in attitudes toward English.

The work of Schneiderman (1975) with French Canadian school children tends to dispute the aforementioned hypotheses. Her study was designed to determine the development of the language and ethnic attitudes of children in the assimilative stage. She hypothesized that the older children in the sample would exhibit more favorable attitudes toward the English culture, as exemplified by an English speaking puppet than the younger children. This assumption was based on the empirical observation of the children's language behavior; that is, the sixth grade children speak more English than the kindergarten children. Also, according to Allport (1954) minority group children in early adolescence reject their own group and adopt the values of the majority culture. The results of the study completely contradicted her hypothesis, particularly in the case of the males. The older groups of males attained a considerably higher percentage of total possible score points than the younger group, indicating a more favorable attitude to the French puppet than that showed by the kindergarten boys. The kindergarten boys have a rather neutral reaction to the puppets, although they tend to lean very slightly in favor of the English puppet. The females are equally favorable to the French puppet in kindergarten and sixth grade. Females exhibit greater preference for the French puppet than males, except in the third and fourth grades. The sixth grade boys have almost the same level of preference for the French puppet as the sixth grade girls.

Schneiderman concludes:

> The implication for future research with ethnic minorities is that a differentiation of language and ethnic attitudes will have to be considered as an integral part of the experimental design.

> The outcome of such research will lead to a clearer notion of the relationship between the pragmatic and emotive motivations for language choice by bilinguals, and may contribute to a better understanding of the distinction between integrative and instrumental motivations in second-language learning.

It is evident from the existing research that many questions remain unanswered in this area. Further investigation is necessary in a variety of settings for this research has implications for both bilingual education and second language learning.

IMPLICATIONS FOR BILINGUAL-BICULTURAL EDUCATION

Ramirez and Castaneda (1974) support the theory of cultural democracy as an integral component for all classrooms, particularly with regard to the bicultural child's ability to maximize his/her learning potential. They speak of the goals of cultural democracy as being "the ability to function effectively in and the responsibility to contribute to developments in both cultural worlds." Another goal of a bicultural education program is bicultural identity wherein the child has been able to explore both of the cultures in the school, and the socialization practices of each pertaining to cultural values, language and heritage, teaching styles. The integrative orientation to language learning and cultural democracy are clearly interrelated.

The evidence that a bilingual-bicultural program can affect the attitudes of the bicultural child is shown in the work of Politzer and Ramirez (1973). They asked third grade children to respond on a sematic differential scale to three variations of accented English and one Spanish guise. Interestingly, they found that

> Mexican American children in the bilingual school have a positive attitude toward Spanish and Spanish speaking people that is absent among the Mexican Americans in the monolingual school. (p. 11)

In an effort to assess the extent of cultural heterogenity both between and within the Anglo and Mexican American ethnic groups, Arias (1975) developed the Cultural Identification Scale (CIS). She studied the responses of fourth and sixth graders participating in state funded bilingual Spanish/English programs throughout California and found that they fell into three distinct categories of cultural identification: (1) Traditional Anglo American, (2) Bicultural (both Anglo and Mexican value systems, and (3) Traditional Mexican. While children of both ethnic groups were distributed within the three categories, intragroup variability was more evident within the Mexican ethnic group. Approximately 33% of the Mexican students identified with the traditional Mexican culture. However, 51% of this group had adopted some of the Anglo cultural values as exemplified by the CIS, while retaining some of their own traditional cultural values. The results also indicated that 16% of the Mexican children identified completely with the traditional Anglo American culture The overwhelming majority of Anglo American children identified with the traditional Anglo culture. Interestingly, an analysis of the data by subscale indicated that the Anglo American group tended to stay well within the limits of what could be called the Anglo cultural boundaries. The Mexican group, on the other hand, tended to center within the Bicultural category, expressing identification with both cultural groups. Arias' study underscores the need for educators to take into account the heterogeneity of students from all cultural groups. She concludes by stating:

"Traditional culture has its place in the classroom, but not at the expense of creating misleading stereotypes."

The research indicates that the inclusion of a policy of cultural democracy in the classroom will enhance the development of positive "integrative" attitudes toward both cultures on the part of the participating students. If they view the other community with favor, it is predictable that they will do well in their attempts at second language learning. Complementing this approach would be the manner in which the program is conducted. The teacher's attitudes are of relevance here. How does she/he present the two languages? Are they both given equal status? The learning environment for maximizing the child's progress in a bilingual-bicultural or second language learning program are influenced by two complementary factors. The challenge for educators is to provide the "ambiente" where the child's attitudes and the teacher's attitudes toward each other's language and culture are given positive value, status, and importance. This environment is an important step in creating positive learning experiences for all children.

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